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ANTONIAZZO ROMANO

[PLATES XXIV-XXVII]

THE history of the native school of art in Rome during the fifteenth century will probably never be satisfactorily elucidated. Although recently discovered documents have given us a number of names of hitherto unknown artists, their connection with existing works is difficult to establish, and must be open to discussion.

If we may trust Platina's description of Rome when Martin V took up his residence there in 1421, after the conclusion of the great schism, there could have been nothing in the conditions of the city life capable of creating or maintaining such a product of high civilization as a school of art ; though Platina, perhaps, was influenced by the natural tendency of the historian and chronicler of all ages to heighten his picture with dramatic contrasts, and to dwell on the extremes of misery as well as of happiness.

With all the disorder and lawlessness, churches and convents flourished, and doubtless groups of artisans carried on the traditions of cutting and laying stone, and of decorating with mosaic and fresco. Apparently, however, their resources were small, for the pope brought into the city Gentile da Fabriano and other artists from more favored regions, especially from Umbria and Tuscany, to carry out his enterprises.

As painters from outside continued to be called in to decorate the structures inaugurated by the popes of the fifteenth century, it is evident that the group of native artists in Rome must have remained small and unimportant. Vasari hardly mentions the Roman painters of this period. In his life of Filippino Lippi he does tell us, incidentally, that Antoniazzo Romano and Ladislao di Padova, "among the best painters

then in Rome" (pittori ambedue de' migliori che fossero allora in Roma), were called in, according to the liberal custom of the time, to estimate the value of Filippino's frescoes in the chapel of Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Antoniazzo's name does not occur again, and as late as the year 1857, a note of the editor in Lemonnier's edition of Vasari says that nothing further is known of these two painters.

In 1869 Costantino Corvisieri published in *Il Buonarroti*, a Roman review long since discontinued, a short article on Antoniazzo based on documents found in the various archives of the city. This is of the highest value, as it gives us records of important works executed by him, and proves conclusively that such a painter really existed, a fact which, until then, some historians of art were disposed to consider as at least doubtful. But Corvisieri had so little knowledge of Antoniazzo's works, that he knew of only one authentic example, the picture in San Clemente at Velletri, signed and dated 1483.¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle had, however, already mentioned Antoniazzo in their first English edition of 1864, and had referred to a number of signed works; but they seem to have fallen into the mistake of imagining the existence of two or three generations of equal artistic importance,—a mistake surely excusable in regard to a name which was recorded with delightful impartiality as Antonasso, Antonazzo, Antoniazzo, Antonaccio, Antonello, Antonuccio, etc.

In 1883 Sig. S. A. Bertolotti² published many additional facts about Antoniazzo derived from his exhaustive study of documents, and E. Müntz, in *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, has recorded further interesting documents, so that from all this material it is not difficult to reconstruct something of the history of the man, and to know the scope of his larger artistic undertakings, although with uncommon perversity the documents almost invariably refer to works now lost, or known to

¹ Signor Venturi considers this a mistaken reading of the date which he found almost obliterated. *Le Gallerie Italiane*, III, 1897, pp. 252-254.

² *Rep. f. K.* VI, 1883, Heft 3. The same commentary appeared in Italian, with a few slight changes in the *Archivio della città e provincia di Roma*, V, 1883, Fasc. 1.

have been destroyed, and we are obliged to depend largely on internal evidence in order to demonstrate that he is the author of the numerous works which modern criticism has attached to his name.

The history and enumeration of lost works of art easily degenerates into mere pedantry or useless juggling of names and dates; but in studying this painter, who is still but little known, we are justified in noting whatever may establish his connection with more famous artists, and with the great art movements of his day, or anything that will offer a suggestion toward the solution of the more important problems of his artistic education, and the influences which helped to form him.

That his family name was Aquilio we may consider as certain, but the date of his birth has never been discovered. Even his father's name and occupation are hypothetical, though he is assumed to have been a painter named Benedetto, of the *rione* Colonna. This *rione*, which is near the Piazza Colonna, we at least know to have been the residence of the Aquilio family and of Antoniazzo himself.

The first appearance of Antoniazzo's name on the public records of his native city is somewhat inauspicious, though a modern investigator may hardly regard it entirely as a misfortune that on February 14, 1452, he was condemned to pay a fine for "excesses committed against Mancino Ogliararo."

A signed picture at Rieti bears the date 1464, and in the same year Antoniazzo contracted¹ to decorate, for Cardinal Bessarion, the chapel of Sant' Eugenia in the church of SS. Apostoli. As this is the earliest date to be found in connection with any of his works, and as it occurs more than once, we may conjecture, in the absence of anything more definite, that the young artist was at that time just beginning to be known as a capable painter. The date is also of some assistance in helping us to an approximate estimate of his age. As he died before 1512,² and possibly a few days or weeks after making his will in 1508, this contract was executed at least forty-

¹ The text of his contract is given by Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, I, p. 82.

² Bertolotti, *op. cit.*

four years before his death. If we consider that the fine of 1452 would hardly have been imposed on a youth under fifteen years of age, it will be safe to assume that he must have been at least twenty-seven years old at this time. The exact date of the contract is September 14, 1464, and the work was to be finished August 25, 1465. In October, 1464, Antoniazzo, along with other painters, was paid for painting banners and decorations used in the coronation ceremonies of Paul II.

Antoniazzo's work in the SS. Apostoli, as well as that of Melozzo da Forlì in the dome of the tribune, was destroyed when the church was enlarged in 1711, but there still remains there a memorial of the connection between Antoniazzo and his patron, although it seems to have escaped the notice of students heretofore. Over the altar in the first chapel on the right is a life-sized picture of the Madonna and Child, and underneath is the following inscription: *Vetustissima deiparae imago, quam ven. Bessario a Constantinop. huc trastulit.* This picture, which is in perfect preservation, is certainly a work by Antoniazzo, though evidently a free copy from that Greek painting, the tradition of which is preserved in the inscription quoted. That Antoniazzo was reputed to be singularly happy in his copies from the old pictures of the Greek school is attested by an epigram, discovered by Corvisieri, which celebrates his success in a similar undertaking and reveals the name of another distinguished patron, Alesandro Sforza of Pesaro.¹

A second epigram² also attributed by Corvisieri to Martino Filetico, a dependent of the Sforzas, is similar in form and spirit to the first, and commemorates a similar triumph of Melozzo, whose name is thus in a shadowy sort of way brought for the

¹ Biblioteca Angelica, Cod. F. 6. 15.

Ad Mariam Maiorem
Virginis est Roma quam Lucas pinxit imago
Tam sancta : errorem quis putet esse suam
Hanc ? Antonatius pictor romanus ab illa
Duxit. Alexander Sfortia solvet opus.

² Ad Mariam de Popolo
Hanc divus Lucas vivo de Virginis ore
Pinxerat ; haec propria est Virginis effigies.
Sfortia Alexander iussit. Melotius ipsam
Effixit. Lucas diceret esse suam.

first time into association with that of Antoniazzo, long before their actual partnership in carrying out the decoration of the Vatican library.

Judging from the papal accounts, Antoniazzo was employed chiefly on purely commercial work by Paul II, who was rather a patron of architects, sculptors, and goldsmiths than of painters. But the diary of Infessura records that in 1470 the interior and façade of S. Maria della Consolazione were decorated by Antoniazzo. This church was a small structure built as a shelter for a miracle-working picture of the Madonna. It was afterwards completely demolished to make way for the larger present building.¹

Antoniazzo was undoubtedly an important figure in the group of painters who worked for Sixtus IV after 1471. His talent by this time must have reached its highest development, and as one of the best of the native Roman artists he must have enjoyed the advantages which the man on the spot, who knows the conditions, always has over outside competitors.

In 1478 he was appointed by the pope one of three artists to draw up the statutes of the newly founded Academy of St. Luke, a fraternity of Roman painters.² This indicates that the pope considered him one of the chief masters of his craft, that he was respected by his coworkers and endowed with common sense and practical organizing ability.

Details as to his personality are so entirely lacking that we are grateful for anything that admits a possible inference. Even the uncomplimentary suffix by which his family and friends changed the original name of Antonio to Antoniazzo is not without its value for us, as it implies a personal appearance more than usually unattractive, or perhaps some especially marked defect.

Probably the most important commission Antoniazzo ever received was that in which he was associated with Melozzo da Forlì and Domenico Ghirlandaio, to decorate the Vatican library under the direction of the celebrated historian Platina. Nothing of Antoniazzo's work on the library remains, but a precious fragment by Melozzo is in the Vatican picture gallery,

¹ Corvisieri, *op. cit.*

² Müntz, *op. cit.* III, pp. 96-100.

where the figure of Platina is represented kneeling before his patron, Sixtus IV.

Platina's expense account of the work on the library mentions payments to Melozzo and Antoniazzo together, in June, 1480, and to Antoniazzo alone on April 10, 1481.¹

Antoniazzo was always successful in getting a large share of the decorative painting which was required at each new papal coronation. This work was very remunerative, and we find that after the coronation of Innocent VIII in 1484, Antoniazzo, along with one Petrus de Perusia, was paid 310 florins for various items, including twenty-five figures of St. Anthony. Müntz and others assume this Petrus to have been no other than the great Perugino, who is known to have been in Rome shortly before, working on the Sixtine Chapel for Sixtus IV. It would be nothing extraordinary for a man of Perugino's acutely developed commercial instincts to have undertaken such an humble commission.

The papal receipts from 1484 to 1492 show that during that time our painter was paid for a large amount of unimportant work, including flags, banners, doors, windows, coats of arms, etc. 1489 is the date on the signed picture at Capua which Antoniazzo painted for Bishop Girolamo Gaetani. In 1491 we find him arranging with Gentil Virginio Orsini to carry out extensive decorations in fresco at the castle of Bracciano, which was then being constructed under the direction of the famous military architect, Francesco di Giorgio di Martini, of Siena. On January 1, 1491, Antoniazzo wrote to Orsini the following letter,² which puts us for a moment on almost intimate terms with the painter, showing him as the head of an extensive organized business, buying his colors in the best market, and solicitous that his "turba" of workmen shall not lose time waiting for scaffolds to be built :

SIGNOR MIO ILL.^{mo}:

A questo di passati Maestro Francesco me venne ad trovare et mi disse che era tornato da Venetia perche haveva comprato tutti quelli colori li haveva importato la Vostra Illustris^{ma} S. dovessi comprare. Et me sollicitava grandemente dovessi venir ad incomenzare el lavoro. Io li risposi che era paratissimo ; et che non desiderava altro nocte et di si non de venire ad servire la vostra Illustris^{ma} S.

¹ Bertolotti, *op. cit.* ² *Il Castello di Bracciano*, Luigi Borsari, Rome, 1895.

Si che pertanto adviso quella si voglia dignare de far fare un ponte allarco et un altro in nella sala che tenga tutta una faccia della sala. Perche impendendomi li fredì et giacci grandissimi che sono adesso, la colla et opera che io facessi in nello arco se veneria ad giacciar. Et la vostra Ill^{ma} Signoria non veneria ad esser ben servita da me. Per la qual cosa io ho deliberato quando serranno li tempi dolci et che la colla non se possa venir ad giacciar di lavorare in esso arco et dipinger piu presto larco che la sala concedendome questo el tempo. Aduncha donde che la S. V. Ill^{ma} ha inteso el bisogno, prego quella se degni de far spacciar li poni in essi lochi de copra nominati quanto piu presto meglio, et facti che serranno questi se degni farne scrivere una piccola letteruza overo de mandarme un piccolo messo et subito io me ne venerò colla mia turba de lavoranti che io menassi con mi veneriamo a perder tempo, et ad me incurreria non piccolo danno.

Non altro. Si non che mi ricomando alla vostra Illustriss^{ma} S. la quale conserci sempre Idio in prospero et felice stato. Vale. Rome die prima mensio Januarii 1491.

Vester humillimus servus,

ANTONATIUS PICTOR.¹

The frescoes under the arch and several others in the castle still exist in a damaged condition at Bracciano, but judging

¹ MY MOST ILLUSTRIOUS LORD :

Yesterday Master Francesco came to find me and to tell me that he had returned from Venice where he had bought all the colors which your most illustrious lordship had ordered him to purchase. And he also urged me strongly to come and begin work. I replied that I was most ready, and that I desired nothing better, night and day, than to serve your most illustrious lordship.

Will you, therefore, deign to have a scaffold made in the arch, and another which shall extend along one entire wall in the room? This I ask, because if I should work on the arch now I should be impeded by the very great frosts and cold we are having, which would freeze the sizing and the work itself. So that I should not be serving your illustrious lordship well. Therefore I have decided to paint in the room when there may be frosts, and when the weather becomes mild, so that the sizing will not turn to ice, to paint the arch, finishing it before I do the room, if the weather will allow. Since your most illustrious lordship understands the necessity, I beg that you will condescend to have the scaffold hurried along in the places named above, as soon as possible, and when they are done, to deign to write a little letter or send me a small message, and I shall come immediately with my crowd of workmen. But if the scaffolds are not built, all my workmen which I shall bring will lose time, and I shall suffer no little loss.

I have nothing more to say except that I commend myself to your most illustrious lordship, and may God preserve you ever in a prosperous and happy condition. Farewell.

Your most humble servant,

ANTONIUS PICTOR.

ROME, January 1, 1491.

from the photographs of those under the arch, Antoniazzo must have left the entire execution to the "turba" of workmen.

This same year Antoniazzo contracted to paint an altar-piece at the church of S. Maria della Pace.¹ The work is no longer in place, but it may possibly be identified with the St. Sebastian now exhibited at the Corsini Gallery, and there attributed to Melozzo da Forlì.

The performance of all this important work quite justifies Vasari's estimate of Antoniazzo, casually given in the passage already quoted, in connection with the valuation of Filippino's work in the Caraffa chapel in 1493.

One of the vagaries of history has transmitted to us the fact that a work of Antoniazzo at Campagnano, dated 1497, was struck by lightning some three centuries later. Even a description of this unfortunate picture is not lacking.² This date is the latest which has yet been discovered on a work of our artist.

The details of his immediate family connection have been very clearly worked out by Bertolotti and show us a group of relatives and fellow-craftsmen living and working together in the houses owned by Antoniazzo in the Piazza Cerusa, now known as the Piazza Rondinini. The little square, very near the Pantheon, is dull enough to-day, and there is nothing to indicate that it was once the abode of the most distinguished Roman painter of the fifteenth century. Just around the corner is the church of S. Luigi de' Francesi, where Antoniazzo was buried in the chapel of the Aquilio family, which, according to the epitaph, must have contained an altar-piece by his own hand. Neither picture nor tombstone is now to be found, though the text of the epitaph with its unqualified eulogy of the "incomparabilis pictor" has been preserved.³

The wills of Antoniazzo and of his second wife give incidentally some insight into the family relations. The lady, whose name was Girolama, was a rich widow, who kept her property quite separate from her husband's, even taking five ounces of pearls as security when Antoniazzo borrowed twenty-five ducats

¹ For the text of the contract, which is evidently in the painter's own handwriting, see Corvisieri, *op. cit.*

² Corvisieri, *op. cit.*

³ Corvisieri, *op. cit.*

from her; but her business sense must have been tempered with affection, for she left him a life interest in her estate when she died. Among her children by her first husband was a daughter Diana, who married Marcantonio, the son of her second husband. He also was a painter, and one example of his art is to be found in the sacristy of the church of Santa Chiara at Rieti with the inscription, *Marcus Antonius magistri Antonatii romanus depinxit M D XI*.

Marcantonio is mentioned in his father's will as having received fifty ducats from the commune of Rieti for a portrait of the gonfalonier, while he, the father, only received twenty-five ducats. For that reason, he explains, Marcantonio shall not inherit anything from him.

From a notary's deed it appears that in Antoniazzo's house of three floors, there lived, in addition to himself and his family, Evangelista "*magister Nardi pictoris*," probably a nephew of Antoniazzo, the painter Pietro Antonio di Lorenzo Vessecchia, the brother of Antoniazzo's first wife, the sculptors Maestro Bartolomeo di Luca of Florence, Pietro di Antonio of Ancona, and the painter Sebastiano di maestro Lorenzo di Cimena; quite enough to create that intangible something which modern artists call "an art atmosphere," for the sake of which they still segregate themselves into colonies.

Bernardino, Antoniazzo's youngest son, became a painter, and it is on record that in 1549 he painted a chapel in the church of St. Andrew at Carrara.¹ The ruins of this work were covered over with colored marble in 1856. By the end of the sixteenth century the name Antoniazzo had become a surname.

Perhaps the best-known work by Antoniazzo is the Virgin and Child with St. Paul and St. Francis, in the Corsini Gallery at Rome (Fig. 1, Anderson, No. 4048). This picture, which is signed *Anthonatius Romanus pinxit*, was discovered a few years ago in the convent of S. Paolo at Poggio Nativo. As its authenticity is undisputed, a study of its characteristics will supply us with the best possible means for the identification of other examples. The composition is of the simplest description. The Virgin, seated on a throne in the centre, supports with both hands the standing figure of the Child. A

¹ Bertolotti, *op. cit.*

male saint stands on either side nearer the foreground. There is a striking absence of small accessories. The background is gilded. The throne, which is designed with a semicircular niche at the back, has a simple moulded cornice supported by



FIGURE 1. — MADONNA IN THE CORSINI GALLERY, ROME.

slightly ornamented pilasters and capitals. Rosettes fill the spandrels and a crown is suspended above the Virgin's head. A narrow expanse of brocade on the lower step of the throne is almost concealed by the Virgin's robe, and this is the only attempt, except the throne itself, to vary the monotony of the surroundings. The figures are well proportioned and stand well on their feet. The drawing of the nude Child shows a genuine feeling for action and for childish character. But the

types of the heads, the modelling of the flesh, and the drawing of the hands are the most characteristic features, and they will help us most in studying other works.

In the three adults the eyes have dense, unlighted pupils and heavy, fevered lids. The eyebrows are arched and represented by a single firm, dark, tapering stroke, and without blending at either edge. All the heads are characterized by high prominent cheek-bones, and the male heads are represented with a sharp hollow in the lower part of the cheek. The Madonna's head is reminiscent of the Byzantine type, with the nose long, the small mouth with thin lips almost peevish, and the expression pensive. The Child has a full, round face with slight modelling and a rather silly, doll-like expression. The modelling of the flesh is everywhere somewhat defective. Lights and shadows are blended and fused so gradually that only rudimentary structure is expressed, and in the Madonna and Child the shadows are weak and pale in value. Those on the faces of the saints are stronger, but still very indefinite and unstudied as to the shape of the shadow, and consequently very insufficient in the expression of form.

One of Antoniazzo's most characteristic mannerisms is in the treatment of hands, of which the right hand of the Virgin in this picture offers us an excellent illustration. The two middle fingers are pressed tightly together with a slight suggestion of crossing; the little finger is curved out strongly, with the end bent in again to touch the next finger; the forefinger is similarly curved out and the end drawn in again to touch the middle finger. This mannerism often amounts to a distortion, especially when, as in this case, the hand is foreshortened. Both hands of the St. Francis show something of the same treatment. The sinewy structure of the hands and feet is carefully rendered. The general characteristics of the figure of St. Francis hardly vary from the type which had already become almost stereotyped in Umbrian painting. The ample draperies of St. Paul's mantle are somewhat over-artificial and arranged with angular folds and a peculiar double notch in the termination of some of the depressions. A certain flatness of outline is noticeable at the top of the head of St. Paul, and this mannerism occurs frequently in other works.

These characteristics give us a working basis for a comparison with numerous unsigned examples, easily accessible in Rome, that are now generally acknowledged as works of Antoniazzo, such as the "Madonna della Ruota," the frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine at the Minerva, and the Annunciation in the same place. From a study of all these we can arrive at a fairly definite idea of his style and attainments.

It is scarcely necessary to assert that the general impression made by the group of works now attributed to Antoniazzo is that they are the productions of a follower of the Umbrian school. But it may as well be confessed that Antoniazzo's work shows that while he was technically well equipped as a painter of the human figure, he was unfortunately somewhat devoid of inventive or imaginative powers, working over the ideas of greater men or faithfully following traditional compositions, repeating types and arrangements with a fidelity notable even in an age when there was no premium on originality for its own sake, when art was rather a refining and perfecting of traditional forms. We must, however, place him on a higher plane than Crowe and Cavalcaselle, with their limited knowledge of his work, were willing to accord to him. In their day his known works were so few and of so inferior a quality that, although they recognized traces of his manner in the frescoes at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, they were unable to believe him the author of work so good.

His general understanding of the proportions and construction of the human figure was up to the average of his time, and his figures stand firmly on their feet with a well-defined and consistent movement. His visualization of the nude figure is largely a matter of outline, which he renders with vigorous ease. In his modelling of flesh he shows himself timid and conventional, particularly in the treatment of the Madonna and Child. There his shadows are weak and pale in tone, and undefined in shape. This is what we might expect from a man of feeble imagination, who clings to a traditional treatment as well as type of the Madonna, displaying his higher technical attainments in portraits, and in such accessories as draperies, which can be studied from the objects themselves.

In the beginning, Antoniazzo often regarded this motive of

the Virgin and Child as hardly more than a religious symbol. Whatever personal artistic feeling he may have had was here carefully suppressed. The wonderful power over the devotional mood of the old Byzantine symbolistic treatment of this subject is due largely to the elimination of the personal quality. The very abstraction and unreality, the absence of any striking artistic interest, concentrates the attention and induces a sentiment of awe. There are several reasons for supposing that Antoniazzo's first efforts were made in the manufacture of such rude religious symbols, which were steadily in demand in Italy all through those centuries when painting as an art was producing for another stratum of society its great masterpieces. Probably his father's trade may have been in just such wares, and his continued use of the type was as much a matter of business principle as of habit, for his patrons for many years were small country churches in the Sabina, where the conservative provincial taste would be for a devotional picture rather than for the latest thing in the art movement of the day. It is notorious that all miracle-working pictures have been those of an archaic type and three at least of Antoniazzo's Madonnas—that at the church of Santa Maria del Buon Aiuto near Santa Croce in Rome, the "Madonna of Constantinople" at the SS. Apostoli, and the one at San Salvatore in Lauro—attained distinction as workers of miracles, and as a number of others have been disfigured by crosses, earrings, and other ex-votos, they were evidently considered to possess special power.

It would be wrong to imply that Antoniazzo never conceived the Madonna in a more human and attractive form. As early as 1467, in the signed and dated picture of S. Francesco, at Subiaco, the Madonna is represented with the characteristic high cheek-bones, but with few traces of the Byzantine type of the Corsini example, which is reported to have borne the date of 1487, though no traces of it are now visible.

In the example at Harvard University (PLATE XXIV) and in the Annunciation at the Minerva (Fig. 3, Anderson, No. 3726), the Madonnas are of great beauty and sweetness and are evidently derived from Umbrian sources, the first from Pinturicchio and the second from Perugia.

As there are no documents to show the actual artistic pater-

nity of Antoniazzo, the most the student can do is to point out what possibilities he had in Rome for contact with the great art movements of his day, and then to seek in his works characteristics directly suggestive of such contact. The excessive use of the "theory of influences," so much ridiculed by Morelli, is certainly capable of being pushed to an absurdity, but Morelli himself depended on this theory and used it, as all students must. To understand how sensitive artists of every age are to influences, one need only cite the influence of Monet, of Whistler, or of Rodin, which any unpractised eye must have felt dominating in varying degrees every important exhibition of painting and sculpture of recent years.

Aside from the reminiscences of Byzantine character, the strongest and most constant influence which appears in Antoniazzo's work is that of Melozzo da Forlì. It is hardly possible that the relation of master and pupil, as usually understood, ever existed between them, judging from what we know of their relative ages. Melozzo was born in 1438, and in 1452, the year in which Antoniazzo was fined for disturbing the peace, would have been fourteen years old, while Antoniazzo must have attained that age at least, and was probably older. It is more likely that they were both pupils of some Umbrian painter working in Rome between 1450 and 1460. Vasari, in his life of Benozzo Gozzoli, warns his readers not to confuse that painter with Melozzo, and his warning seems to have been due to personal experience, as in his first edition he considered the work of Melozzo in the SS. Apostoli to be by Benozzo. Only in his second edition does he mention Melozzo, giving a meagre account of his works and calling him a pupil of Piero della Francesca. Vasari also tells us that Piero worked for Nicholas V at the Vatican, and from the dates of Piero's presence in other localities it has been reckoned that he was in Rome from 1447 to 1450 or thereabouts. Antoniazzo, who was at least twelve or fourteen years old at that time, may very well have been put to work under him, as he had probably already shown some promise in his father's workshop.

The two Latin epigrams already quoted were found by Corvisieri in the Biblioteca Angelica without date, but the dates before and after them on the same page led him to assign

their composition to the year 1460. There is certainly something more than chance in the association of these two young men in such similar fashion. But after all it is not important to establish the exact relationship. The only thing of real value in studying the genesis of a painter is to know the derivation of his habits of mind and of his methods of expression, and these may have been received from an associate as well as from a master.

The influence of Melozzo is most apparent in the treatment of heads, and specially in details such as the eye with its heavy lid and dense unlighted pupil, imparting an austere look to the sacred personages depicted. This characteristic occurs, though not invariably, in works of Piero.¹ Its presence in the head of Christ in the famous Resurrection at Borgo San Sepolcro helps to create the impression of power which that figure has always inspired. It is to be found in Melozzo's head of Christ in the Ascension at the Quirinal, and in the heads of the Apostles among the fragments at St. Peter's. Antoniazzo invariably expresses the eyebrow by a sharp clean-cut line with no blending of the edges. This type occurs in Melozzo, but he also treats it in a less summary fashion, carefully rendering the transition from the flesh of the forehead to the different color and texture of the eyebrow — a treatment that is never found in works by Antoniazzo. Perhaps the greatest power of our painter is shown in his drawing of the nude figure of the Christ Child. In the upright figures of this subject in the picture at the Corsini and in the "Madonna della Ruota" the pose is strong and decided, and the action very consistently expressed, and the reclining form of the Infant in the Harvard example (PLATE XXIV) is most charming and unhackneyed in conception, and exceptionally skilful in drawing, the foreshortening of the face being especially well rendered. With all this feeling for movement, proportion, and contour we are disappointed by the modelling, which is weak and slight, and as a rule deficient in precision.

His treatment of drapery is distinctly superior to that of

¹ Piero evidently inherited it from his master Domenico Veneziano. The heavy lids and weary expression of the eyes are very noticeable in Domenico's signed altar-piece in the Uffizi.

flesh. The folds are graceful, and there is a feeling of dignity and of amplitude, while the arrangement shows him enough of a true figure painter to wish to express the form and movement underneath. The draperies are carefully modelled, too, and reflected lights are closely observed.

Considering Pinturicchio's popularity in Rome, and the extensive undertakings he was carrying out there toward the end of the fifteenth century, it is strange not to find more evidence of his influence on Antoniazzo. It is most apparent in his landscapes, as would be natural, and where we find Antoniazzo departing from his Byzantine type of Madonna, he gives us a version strongly imbued with the characteristics of Pinturicchio, as in the Harvard example and in certain heads of Sibyls at Tivoli. As Pinturicchio is not known to have painted in Rome before 1480, we may fairly consider those works of Antoniazzo which show his influence to have been executed after that date.

In a recent review of a book on Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Mr. F. Mason Perkins speaks of Antoniazzo as one of Fiorenzo's pupils. There is at present no positive proof that Fiorenzo ever worked at Rome, so we cannot conjecture under what circumstances Antoniazzo came under his influence. But there are certain characteristics in Antoniazzo that could hardly have been derived from any one else, and most prominent is the peculiar hand already described. This occurs in one of Antoniazzo's earliest known works, that of 1467 at Subiaco, and persistently reappears throughout his career. It is true that a similar hand occurs in works of the other Umbrian painters besides Fiorenzo. Pinturicchio has used it as well, but infrequently. It seems to have been originally derived from early Sienese art, as one can see such a hand in the signed work of Meo di Siena in the Municipal Gallery at Perugia, and also in a picture in the same gallery by Taddeo di Bartolo (Sala E N°. 10), who is supposed to have had so much influence in forming the school of Perugia.¹ With Fiorenzo it is a fixed characteristic, and we may suppose that Antoniazzo came strongly under his influence at some time in the beginning of

¹ Although it is not found in Giotto, the "cramped hand" appears in the work of almost every one of his successors in the fourteenth century in Florence.

his career. The two men were probably of about the same age, Fiorenzo having been born in 1440.

Another feature of Antoniazzo's work which recalls Fiorenzo, though not so strikingly, is the character of the folds of drapery, particularly in the observation of reflected lights, though Antoniazzo never carries this so far as does Fiorenzo, whose draperies are too often open to the charge of suggesting polished metal rather than soft fabrics.

In none of his best authenticated works in Rome is there a landscape background, and it seems quite in character with his lack of invention and his predilection for Byzantine types that he should have persisted in the use of gold grounds long after they had become obsolete in the art centres of Italy.¹ These backgrounds are usually patterned with a large repeat of the ogee type similar to that used on brocades. As a colorist, Antoniazzo follows the traditions of the Umbrian school, and his panel pictures have a rich, mellow tone, but in fresco, if we may judge from works which have been so much repainted, there is crudeness and lack of harmony.

So little critical attention has been paid to Antoniazzo that no complete list of his works has to my knowledge been attempted since that of Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

Lafenestre, in his *catalogue raisonné* of paintings in the galleries and churches of Rome, included nearly all that can now be ascribed to Antoniazzo in that city. Sig. Diego Angeli of all the Italian critics has studied Antoniazzo most carefully, and in his book, *Le Chiese di Roma*, agrees with most of Lafenestre's attributions to Antoniazzo of works in churches. He has also added considerably to the number of the painter's works through his researches in the small towns of the Sabina. In none of these lists, however, have I found any reference to the painting at the SS. Apostoli already referred to, which is known, under the title of the "Madonna of Constantinople," as a famous miracle-working picture. Its authorship, in spite of the tradition of its origin, offers little difficulty to the student of Antoniazzo's works. The general type of the Virgin, the

¹ In the Adoration of the Magi of the Barberini Gallery, recently attributed to Antoniazzo though formerly considered to be by Ghirlandaio, the landscape is clearly derived from Pinturicchio.

treatment of the flesh almost without light and shade, are all his, and more convincing is the hand, where his mannerism is clearly seen in the curving out of the forefinger and little finger, with the two middle fingers pressed closely together and held straight. The pattern of the gold background is identical in every detail with that on the "Madonna della Ruota" (Anderson, No. 4499).

The picture of St. Sebastian with the two kneeling churchmen, catalogued at the Corsini as a work of Melozzo da Forlì (PLATE XXV, Alinari, No. 17489), has been so ruined by over-cleaning that hardly more than the outlines remain. Fortunately the reproduction of the portrait heads from a photograph taken before the cleaning gives us some idea of its original appearance, which to my mind could never have borne much resemblance to the style of Melozzo. The statement has sometimes been made that we have no right to say that a picture cannot be the work of a certain painter on the ground that it is not *good* enough in quality; that the business of the connoisseur is only to determine if it is *characteristic*. Without arguing the merits of this statement, it may be said that the attribution to Melozzo has been received with general incredulity by critics who know his work, precisely on the ground that it contained none of the known characteristics of that painter. When we add to this the general opinion that neither is its quality up to the level of Melozzo's achievement, we have at least prepared the ground for considering it rather the work of his associate Antoniazio, with whose characteristics and whose quality it coincides perfectly. In all known works of Melozzo the modelling is very strong and sure; the solidity of the forms and the variety of surfaces of the flesh are really represented and not merely suggested as in this picture. On the other hand, there are many details which connect it with the style of Antoniazio. The head, for example, is very similar to a head of the Saviour on the ceiling at S. Giovanni Evangelista at Tivoli, while the pose of the body is precisely the reverse of that of the St. Sebastian at S. Vito e Modesto (Moscioni 4448), which is generally acknowledged to be a genuine work of the Roman painter. Even such a detail as the loin cloth is repeated without alteration. Both these figures re-

semble quite closely in action and pose the St. Sebastian of Piero della Francesca at the church of the Hospital at Borgo San Sepolcro, even the loin cloth being the same; but Piero's figure is far more powerfully modelled. After recognizing the characteristics of Antoniazzo in this panel, I was struck by a certain coincidence in the documentary evidence. For this picture came originally from the church of S. Maria della Pace, where, in 1491, Antoniazzo contracted to paint an altar-piece for a certain chapel which, in a seventeenth-century document, is referred to as having been formerly called the chapel of St. Sebastian.¹

The most extensive and important piece of work in Rome which has been associated with Antoniazzo's name is the fresco on the dome of the apse at Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (PLATE XXVI, Alinari, Nos. 20130, 20131, 20132). No one seems to have been prepared to make a positive statement about it, but both Lafenestre and Angeli think it may possibly be of the school of Antoniazzo. In the last edition of Burckhardt's *Cicerone* it is attributed to the school of Pinturicchio. It is certainly difficult to judge now what its original appearance was, it has been so crudely and thoroughly repainted. At the first glance it is difficult to connect this picture, with its variety of action, pose, and incident, its fantastic and varied landscape, with the hieratic treatment and gold ground of Antoniazzo as we have first known him. A closer inspection, however, discloses here and there features which even in its present state betray the style of Antoniazzo.

The general cast of the drapery and the treatment of the individual folds of all the principal figures are in Antoniazzo's manner. On the right the head of the second old man (Alinari, No. 20131), behind the mounted figure bearing the cross, has the exaggerated hollow in the cheek, the dense eyes, and all the traits with which Antoniazzo endows his heads of aged saints in his altar-pieces. Farther to the left the figure of the empress (PLATE XXVI, Alinari, No. 20130) in type, pose, and treatment of details betrays our painter's habitual manner, the

¹ Corvisieri, *op. cit.* In an article published after this paper was written, the St. Sebastian is likewise attributed to Antoniazzo by E. Jacobson in *Rep. f. K.* XXIX, 1906, pp. 104-107. See *A.J.A.* X, 1906, p. 482.

lower hand laid against the cross being unmistakable. The same characteristics are to be seen in the figure of the kneeling churchman on the other side of the cross, whose costume is identical with that of the members of the tribunal of the Ruota in the picture at the Vatican. The head of the old man farther to the left is one which we meet often in Antoniazzo. The flatness of the top of the head, where the line sinks, instead of curving up as it should, is characteristic. There are other smaller details which are significant, but enough has been indicated to show that all the most important figures in the foreground of this fresco are by Antoniazzo, so we must conclude it to have been carried out by his "turba" of workmen with his aid and direction. The landscape in breadth, in charm, and in fancy is far beyond what we should expect from a painter who is ordinarily so sparing in decorative accessories of all kinds. The principal features of the landscape, it is evident, are those with which Pinturicchio has made us familiar in his works in Rome, but I find no single figure or face here which suggests that either he or Perugino was the author, though both names have been suggested as possible.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle, after observing reminiscences of Antoniazzo, Caporali, Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, Alunno, and Pinturicchio in this fresco, conclude that it is possibly the work of Bonfigli.¹

Over the second altar on the left, in the Church of S. Salvatore in Lauro, is a life-sized picture of the Virgin with the Child seated in her lap. Lafenestre and Angeli say of it, that it is attributed to Pollaiuolo. It was recognized recently by Mr. Richard Norton as a work of Antoniazzo. The style of the Madonna is similar to that at S. Paolo, that is, reminiscent of Pinturicchio. The Child has the type of face, the proportions, and drawing which are characteristic of Antoniazzo. The inscription in Roman letters on the step of the throne follows also a habit of the artist. Worked into the meaningless hieroglyphics of the gold-patterned hem of the robe on its lower edge is the inscription *Antonio pinxit*. This signature is

¹ Signor Angeli, in *Le Chiese di Roma*, says that this church was restored in 1492. Some years after, Cardinal Bernardino Carvejol ordered the vault of the tribune to be painted with frescoes, probably between 1495 and 1500.

apparently the only foundation for the astonishing attribution to Pollaiuolo and would serve equally well to make out a case for Antoniazzo, did not a close inspection arouse some suspicion that it was not a part of the original work. The enclosing border lines of gold widen in an awkward way where they enclose the lettering, which is a trifle wider than the other motives of the band, and it all gives an impression of being inserted later than the original painting. The picture, which is poorly lighted and almost ruined by varnishes, must have been one of Antoniazzo's most attractive works.

Signor Angeli has suggested that the altar-piece of the little church of S. Omobono in Rome is by Antoniazzo, but I fail to discover in it any of his characteristics. The types, the color, and modelling all suggest a painter much nearer to the school of Perugino. Nor can I find anything in the ruined fresco over the tombs of the Pollaiuoli at S. Pietro in Vincoli at all reminiscent of what we know of Antoniazzo, though Herr Steinmann has put forth the suggestion that this might be a work of his.

The paintings on the tabernacle at S. Giovanni Laterano (PLATE XXVII) are still attributed to Barna di Siena (d. 1387), according to some old tradition, and their lack of conformity to fifteenth-century art is explained by their free restoration in 1851. But wherever the restoration is less drastic, the handiwork of Antoniazzo is clearly betrayed.¹

A small triptych has recently been removed from the Institute of Fine Arts in Ravenna to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, where it is exhibited as a probable work of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (Fig. 2, Alinari, No. 18260). This picture seems to me undoubtedly by Antoniazzo. The one characteristic which recalls Fiorenzo is the cramped hand of the Virgin and of St. Peter, but this is quite as characteristic of Antoniazzo, and the hands are far inferior in firmness of drawing and modelling to those of Fiorenzo. Indeed, the strongest argument against this being by Fiorenzo, is that in quality, that most important of all the attributes of painting, it is much inferior to any known work of Fiorenzo, and both the Virgin and the Child are types quite foreign to his style.

¹ This also is attributed to Antoniazzo by E. Jacobson, *op. cit.*

Signor Ricci is inclined to see the handiwork of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo in the small Madonna and Child in the National Gallery, there catalogued as a work of Pinturicchio, and in the replica in the Municipal Gallery at Trevi. The hand of the



FIGURE 2. —TRIPTYCH IN THE UFFIZI, FLORENCE.

Madonna certainly suggests Fiorenzo, but is even more characteristic of Antoniazzo, and the quality of the whole seems inferior to either Fiorenzo or Pinturicchio. From the proportions, action, modelling, and type of the Child, and from numerous other considerations, I would suggest Antoniazzo rather than Fiorenzo as the author of these panels.

Dr. Bode, in the latest edition of the *Cicerone*, calls the Annunciation at the Minerva Antoniazzo's masterpiece (Fig. 3). It is the most charming of his works in Rome, and before its mutilation the composition must have been much finer. The background, now of plain gold, shows traces of having been once richly patterned with a design similar to that on the

Madonna della Ruota, and the original position of the Almighty is still indicated, directly above the Angel, by the imperfect patching of the rectangular space left when the picture was



FIGURE 3.—ANNUNCIATION IN S. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA, ROME.

enlarged to fit its present frame. The original shape was evidently almost square.

Certainly Antoniazzo never produced anything better than

this. The idea is unusual, for the Virgin is represented as receiving the Divine message just as she is in the act of distributing dowries to a group of three orphan maidens, who are presented to her by a churchman said to be Cardinal Turrecremata, the founder of the charity of the Santissima Annunziata. The Virgin, whose head is very lovely, kneels gracefully, with a sweet and pensive expression, and turning from her reading desk, presents a purse to the maidens. These are drawn to a smaller scale and kneel on a lower level, with upturned eyes and graceful poses. The angel moves swiftly in with spread wings and an action as if about to kneel. The Cardinal is drawn in profile, with a mild and beneficent expression. The Almighty above with raised hands is more conventional in conception and pose. The color is deep, rich, and mellow; the drawing satisfactory, and the modelling, if still a little uncertain on the Madonna's face, is on the figures of the kneeling maidens stronger and more expressive than is usual with Antoniazzo.

Other works of interest by Antoniazzo might be cited, but the examples referred to are sufficient to give an adequate idea of his style and of his position in the history of art. As one of the more interesting of the minor painters of the fifteenth century in Italy, and especially as the one known native Roman artist of that period, his name deserves to be rescued from the oblivion in which it has remained so long.

Any list of the works of a painter so little known, whose style has been so often confused with that of more famous artists, must be incomplete for some time to come. In the following are included all the works whose attribution to Antoniazzo the author has been able to discover.

LIST OF WORKS BY ANTONIAZZO ROMANO

A. SIGNED WORKS

RIETI. Municipal Library. Formerly in S. Antonio del Monte. Madonna and Child with SS. Francis and Anthony on side panels. Signed: ANTONIUS DE ROMA MCCCCLXIV EPINXIT.

SUBIACO. S. Francesco. Triptych. Virgin and Child between SS. Francis and Anthony. Signed: A.D.M.CCCCLXVII ANTONIUS DE ROMA ME PINXIT DIE. II. OCTOBRIS.

ROME. Corsini Gallery, No. 2371. Virgin, Child, and SS. Paul and Francis. Signed: ANTONIATIS ROMANUS PINXIT MCCCCLXXXVIII.

Height, 1.60 m.; width, 1.25 m. On wood. From convent of S. Paolo at Poggio Nativo.

PONTICELLI. Franciscan Convent. Altar piece with SS. Anthony and Francis.

CAPUA. Cathedral; Cappella Gaetano. Virgin and Child between SS. Stephen and Lucy. Signed: ANTONIATUS ROMANUS M. FOR. P. MCCCCLXXXIX. Venturi speaks of another work of Antoniazzo in the Cathedral of Capua attributed to Silvestro de' Buoni.

VELLETRI. S. Clemente. Virgin and Child. Signed: ANTONATIUS ROMANUS ME PINXIT ANNO MCC . . . According to Venturi the date which has been interpreted as 1483 is undecipherable beyond this point.

B. UNSIGNED WORKS GENERALLY ACCEPTED

BRACCIANO. Castello. Fresco. Cavalry Procession with portrait of Gentil Virginio Orsini.

CASTELNUOVO. Church of the Pagani family on the road from Rignano to Rome. Christ Blessing; a long inscription ends with the date 1501. St. John Baptist, St. John Evangelist.

ROME. S. Maria sopra Minerva. Fourth chapel on right. Annunciation with Cardinal Turrecremata and maidens receiving dowries. Figures life size. Chapel of S. Catherine. Frescoes formerly in the transept; life size. Crucifixion. Four male saints. SS. Lucia and Appollonia. Pietà. Bishop with kneeling donor. SS. Onofrio and Jerome. Annunciation.

ROME. S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Sacristy. Madonna and Child with SS. Paul, Benedict, Peter, and Giustina.

ROME. S. Pietro in Montorio. Third Chapel: Frescoes. Altar; Holy Family. Semidome; The Eternal. Right; David. Left; Solomon. Centre; Escutcheon of Spain. Figures life size.

ROME. Vatican, Picture Gallery. "Madonna della Ruota." Virgin Enthroned with SS. Peter and Paul and twelve members of the Tribunal of the Ruota kneeling in the foreground. Presented to the Tribunal by the president Mgr. Brancodoro, whose arms are on the pedestal of the throne. Height, 2.50 m.; width, 2.30 m. In tempera, on wood. Figures three-quarters life size.

C. ATTRIBUTIONS FOR WHICH THE AUTHOR ALONE IS RESPONSIBLE

FLORENCE. Uffizi, No. 1558. Triptych; Madonna and Child between St. Peter and St. Paul. Above; the Eternal: the Annunciation. Back; St. Sebastian, St. Anthony Abbot. Dated 1485.

LONDON. National Gallery. Madonna and Child, attributed to Pinturicchio.

PALOMBARA. S. Francesco in Organtella. Annunciation.

ROME. SS. Apostoli. "Madonna of Constantinople," 1464 (?). Life size. On wood.

ROME. Corsini Gallery. St. Sebastian with two kneeling Churchmen, attributed to Melozzo da Forlì. Canvas stretched on a panel. Figures life size. From S. Maria della Pace, Rome (?), 1491 (?).

ROME. Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Semidome over apse; Discovery of the Cross. 1495-1500 (?).

ROME. S. John Lateran.¹ Tabernacle. Front, central panel, Crucifixion; right panel, SS. Peter and Andrew; left panel, SS. Paul and James. Right, central panel, Virgin enthroned with donor; right panel, SS. Stephen and John Evangelist; left panel, SS. Lawrence and John Baptist. Left, central panel, Christ feeding lambs; right panel, SS. Jerome and Ambrose (?); left panel, SS. Gregory and Augustine (?). Back, central panel, Coronation of the Virgin; right panel, SS. Catherine and Anthony Hermit; left panel, Annunciation.

TREVI. Municipal Gallery, Madonna and Child; attributed to Pinturicchio.

D. RECENT ATTRIBUTIONS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION

ALTENBURG. Madonna and Child. (Schmarsow.)

BRUSSELS. Christ with two saints. (Venturi.)

CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A. Harvard University. Fogg Art Museum. Tabernacle, Madonna and Child with St. John and angels; above Almighty. (Norton.)

CAMPAGNANO. S. Maria del Prato, altar-piece. (Angeli.)

FARFA. Abbey, two portraits of Abbots. (Angeli.)

NEW YORK, U.S.A. Fischhof Collection, Madonna and Child. (Perkins.)

PHILADELPHIA, U.S.A. Johnson Collection, Madonna and Child. (Perkins). Weidner Collection, Madonna and Child. (Perkins.)

POGGIO NATIVO. S. Annunziata, Triptych with Christ Blessing between St. Michael and St. Sebastian. (Angeli.)

ROME. S. Maria del Buon Aiuto. Madonna and Child. Fresco, life size. (Angeli.)

ROME. Barberini Gallery, Epiphany. (Perkins.)

ROME. S. Pietro, Ante-chamber of the treasury; St. Veronica with St. Peter and St. Paul. (Burckhardt.)

ROME. S. Salvatore in Lauro. Madonna enthroned. Figures life size, on canvas. Signed in hem of robe, ANTONIO PINXIT. (Norton.)

ROME. S. Vito e Modesto. Fresco. Lunette, Madonna enthroned with SS. Crescentia and Modesto. Panels below, St. Sebastian, S. Vito, St. Margaret. (Angeli.)

ROME. Capitoline Gallery, Sala VI, Madonna and Angels. Fresco. (Jacobson.)

ROME. Corsini Gallery. Madonna enthroned with SS. Peter and Paul. Not exhibited. (Jacobson.)

ROME. Pantheon. Chapel R. of high altar, Madonna with SS. John and Francis. (Jacobson.)

ROME. Vatican Gallery. Madonna with SS. Peter and Paul; attributed to Melozzo da Forlì. (Jacobson.)

TIVOLI. S. Giovanni Evangelista. Frescoes. Left wall, Assumption of the Virgin. Right, Birth and Naming of John the Baptist. Arch, Twelve Sibyls. Vault, Four Evangelists and Four Doctors. (Rossi.)

¹ All these frescoes were attributed to A. by Jacobson, *op. cit.*, after the above was written.

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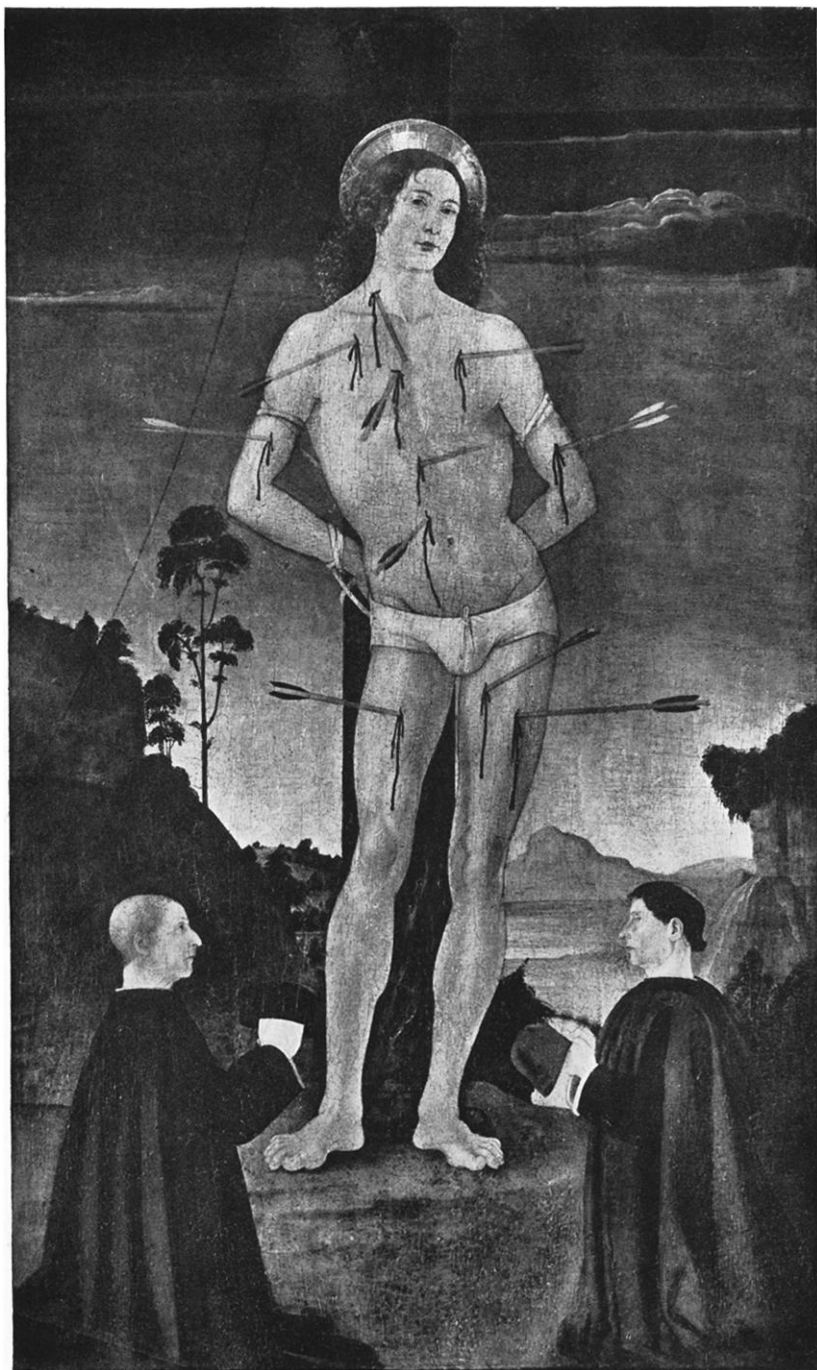
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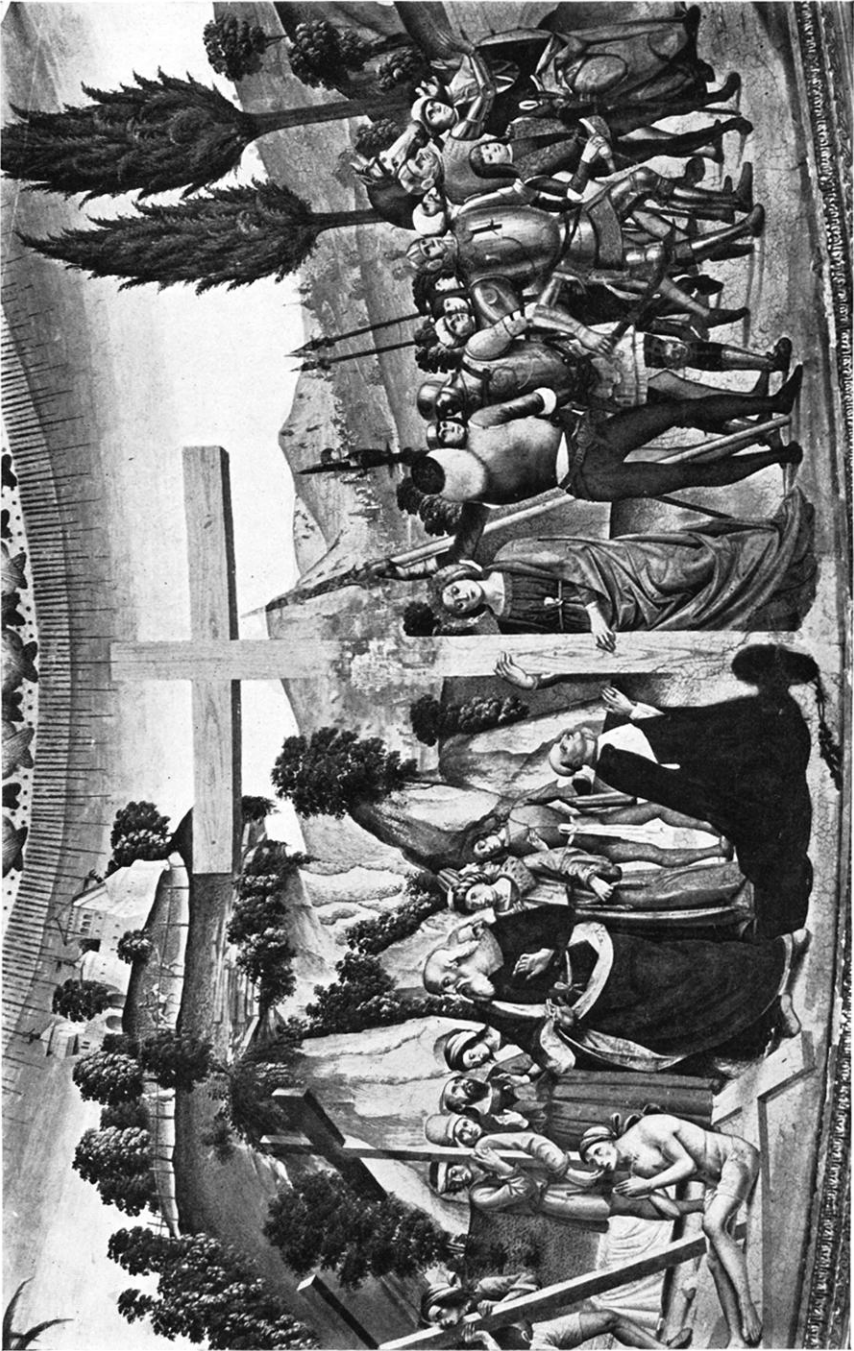
HERBERT E. EVERETT.



MADONNA IN FOGG ART MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.



ST. SEBASTIAN IN THE CORSINI GALLERY, ROME



FRESCO IN SANTA CROCE IN GERUSALEMME



PAINING ON THE TABERNACLE IN SAN GIOVANNI LATERANO